2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Dwellings.—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

Household furniture.—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing.—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 H (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
[P I]
C 343

Fig. 1. Maize-barn.
Chiriguano.

I.

Dwellings.

C ce 361
Like all other Indians I visited south of Sta Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, the Chiriguano and Chané live in villages. Some of these villages are rather large and inhabited by several hundred people. Frequently a number of villages are situated quite close to each other. As a rule, the huts stand around an open space which is sometimes planted with trees to give shelter. These »squares» serve as meeting-places and playgrounds.

C ce 342
The huts are square. They are built of reeds or wooden laths, and thatched with grass. They are very often plastered with earth.

C ce [592] [361]
There are no huts here of the original Indian shape. The real Chiriguano (Chané?) huts were very large; as many as a hundred people lived in the same house, the whole

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, 4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

village consisting of only a few big huts.[1]) These plainly correspond to the great family-houses known to us from Brazil. but which in Bolivia I have only seen among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe on the Lago Rojo-Aguado. CHOMÉ[2]) gives no exact information about the huts. He says they stood in a circle around an open place. In the middle of the square there was a special hut for strangers. According to NINO[3]) the Chiriguano formerly had round houses. He gives a rather lengthy description of these, but does not tell us the source of his information. NINO describes at length how the Chiriguano now build their houses.

As early as the time of VIEDMA[4]) — end of the 18th century — they seem to have forsaken their original type of house and built themselves smaller huts. Since the dwelling-houses here retain no traces of their original shape, it is useless to make comparisons with other Indian huts. There is hardly anything in Indian culture which so quickly changes under the influence of the Whites as the houses. The acquisition of iron tools makes it possible to put up quickly properly built houses. An Indian tribe need consequently not have been long in contact with the Whites before they alter the style of their huts. This is not the case, to be sure, with all the tribes, for many, such as those in the interior of the Chaco, tenaciously preserve the primitive type of hut which, though small and inconvenient, affords greater protection from cold than the roomier dwellings of the Whites.

It would be of interest to find out in what measure

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[1]) Annua de la Compañia de Jesús — Tucuman y Perú — 1596. »El mayor de los pueblos es de cinco casas; lo común es de tres; mas son muy largas, de más de 150 pasos, á dos aguas, con estantes en el medio sobre que se arma la cumbrera, y de estante á estante vive una parentela.» LIZÁRRAGA P. 552.

[2]) P. 313. »Pendant ce temps-là, je n'avais pas d'autre logement que le toit de paille qui étoit au milieu de la place.»

[3]) P. 174.

[4]) P. 181. »Sus casas son unos pequeños ranchos hechos de caña.»

/173 cont./

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs.

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV.

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts.

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings.

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned.

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands

C Ce 592 C Ce 592 354

/176 cont./ of the daughters, who, during the betrothal and at the beginning of the marriage, live with the mother-in-law. In front of the hut is the large hearth (Ill. 83) where the maize beer, and sometimes also the food, is cooked. /Fig. 84b appears here./ Inside the hut there is likewise a hearth where cooking is done and where one seeks warmth on cold nights and days.

Ce 342 415 417 273

Fig. 83. Hearth for boiling maize beer. Chané village. Rio Itiyuro. To the right in the picture, large vessels in which the maize beer ferments. The house is plastered with earth.

C Ce 342 122 136 352 513 000

I have slept in these huts many a night. They are, as a rule, free of vermin, which cannot be said of the dwellings of all other Indians and of the houses of the whites. The sleeping place either consists of a bed made of a species of bamboo cane, or one lies /Plate 16 appears here/ /177/ on the ground on a reed mat or a skin. One also sees hammocks in the huts.

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

Ce [462]

C 857 868 462

I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

C 361 592

C 178 592 583 [591]

337. Nord. 1, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.